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Dean CONYBEARE'S
S E R M O N

Preach'd before the HONOURABLE
House of COMMONS,
On Tuesday, April 25, 1749.
Being the Day of THANKSGIVING
FOR THE
GENERAL PEACE.

Mercurii, 26 Die Aprilis, 1749.

Ordered,

THAT the Thanks of this House
be given to the Reverend Dr.
Conybeare, for the Sermon by him
Preached Yesterday before this House
at *St. Margaret's Westminster*; and
that he be desired to Print the same;
and that the Lord *Dupplin*, Mr. So-
licitor General, and Mr. *Lyttelton* do
acquaint him therewith.



J. DYSON,
Cler. Dom. Com.

True PATRIOTISM.

A

S E R M O N

Preach'd before the HONOURABLE

House of COMMONS,

A T

St. Margaret's Westminster,

On Tuesday, April 25, 1749.

Being the Day of THANKSGIVING

FOR THE

GENERAL PEACE.

By JOHN CONYBEARE, D. D. *K*
Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES FLETCHER, in the *Turle*,
Oxford:

And Sold by SAMUEL BIRT, and JOHN and
JAMES RIVINGTON, in *London*.

M DCC XLIX.

THE PATRIOTISM.

A

GENERAL

Presented before the Honourable

House of COMMONS,

AT

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FOR

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By JOHN CONYBEARE, D.D.

Dean of Christ Church in Oxford.

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MDCCLXIX.

P S A L M cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: They shall prosper that love thee.

Peace be within thy Walls, and Prosperity within thy Palaces.

For my Brethren and Companions Sake I will now say, Peace be within thee.

Because of the House of the Lord our God I will seek thy Good.

THE Psalm, of which these Words are a Part, was used by the Jews on performing their appointed Services in the Temple three Times a Year: But probably it was first composed on some special Occasion, — perhaps such a one, as now assembles us together.

And indeed, What more proper Subject of Meditation, at a Time when Men celebrate the Praises of God for delivering them from the Miseries of War, than the Blessings and Advantages of Peace! Whether Men understand by that Expression a mere State of Quiet, and the Cessation of foreign Hostilities,

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lities, — or (which is, or ought to be the Consequence of that State) a Cultivating the several social Arts, which it fits and enables Men to pursue.

Peace the Psalmist here prays for: But this, in the former Sense, having been, on the present Supposition already obtained, could properly be the Matter only of Thanksgiving; yet in the latter Sense, as it signifies a Cultivating the Arts of Peace, it was the fit Subject of Prayer. And the most suitable Petition we can offer up to God, when we thank him for a Deliverance from War, must be This, that by his farther Blessing we may be disposed to make a right Use of this Deliverance; that we may be disposed to preserve Peace at home, — to help, in every Way we can, the Publick, — to discharge our several Duties to each other, — and to enjoy with Innocence such Advantages as we share. To do this, will produce Happiness indeed; the greatest which the present Life admits of; and give us some sort of Taste of that Reward which we shall receive hereafter.

But here I must observe, there is one general Principle, which ought to govern our Actions in reference to the present Point, and which, duly attended to, cannot fail to produce the Dispositions I would inculcate; I

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mean, a *Publick Spirit*, — the *Love of our Country*, — or, to use another Word, if rightly understood, *Patriotism*. This, in some Sense, separates Self from Self; makes all our Wishes center in the Good of the Community; — must therefore lead us to do all we can for the publick Service; to secure Peace when obtained; and to improve the Advantages of it when secured. And this, in the Result, will most effectually support that very private Interest, which it appears to disclaim.

I shall farther add, that this is not an Observation, forced in at all Events, but warranted by the inspired Words of the Psalmist; for, when he prays for Peace, see how he does it! *They shall prosper that love thee.* — *For my Brethren and Companions Sake I will say, Peace be within thee.* For The Sake of the House of The Lord our God I will seek thy Good. What do all these Words intimate to us, but that *Publick Spirit* is the Means whereby Peace must be secured; and the Principle by which it must be rendered a Blessing to us?

Without farther Preface I shall proceed to the main Subject of this Discourse, viz. to treat of *real Patriotism*, or the just and reasonable Love of our Country. And this I shall do,

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First, by representing the Grounds and Reasons on which the Principle itself is founded.

II. This being dispatched, I shall in the next Place, inquire Wherein *true Patriotism* consists, and in what Ways it may most properly manifest itself.

III. After which I shall offer such Reflections as naturally arise from the foregoing Heads, and are most suitable to the present Solemnity.

First then, I am to represent the Grounds and Reasons, on which *Patriotism*, or the Love of Country must be built.

This, if we consider attentively, will be found to resolve itself at last into the natural Principle of Benevolence. A Principle so deeply rooted in our Constitution, that no Man is able to divest himself of it entirely: For, under the worst Circumstances we can conceive, and when he hath done his utmost to brutalize himself, he cannot but take Satisfaction in some or other of his Species; he cannot but rejoice at his Success, and compassionate his Distresses, and regret the Loss of him when he is gone.

Nature

Nature indeed (the God of Nature, I should say) designed that this Affection should extend, in some Sense, to our whole Kind. And in Fact it is so extended, where nothing is done to impair or to counteract it; at least, where Men indulge and cherish this benevolent Principle, and gratify it upon every Occasion which offers.

But, as Mankind are now multiplied to an immense Degree, neither can our Knowledge reach to the several Objects which may need our Assistance; nor are our Abilities sufficient for their Relief; nor, considering the interfering Interests of different Men, and their respective Merits or Demerits, is it fit to treat them all on the same Foot of Kindness. It is plain from hence, that the Exercise of our Benevolence must be restrained: And this hath occasioned in some Persons a very vicious Error.

There are some, who have narrowed themselves so excessively, as to confine all their Regards to their particular Families; which, engrossing their whole Care, leave nothing to be done for the Service or Advantage of others. But this Principle is universally condemned, even by the very Persons who indulge it: For, it is observable, that none are more severe on the narrow Spirit of other

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other Men, than those who are guilty of the same Fault themselves.

Many there are above this Littleness, and who abhor it: Yet governing themselves by I know not what Prejudices, they confine their Benevolence to some little Sect or Party they espouse; where thinking all Merit must be found, and allowing nothing to others out of their own Pale, they become unreasonably indulgent to some, and as grievously injurious to others. It were much to be wished that Errors of this Kind were less general: For, it must be owned, the violent Men of every Side are faulty.

What then, will it be said, is the proper Sphere within which the Exercise of our Benevolence must, in some sort, contract itself, and to the Extent of which it ought, on all proper Occasions, to reach? The Answer is ready: Our Country; the great Community to which we belong; those who are under the same common Government, and subject the same common Laws. These are united into one political Body; in which, if one suffers, every other Member doth, and in Reason ought to suffer with it.

But then here a Distinction must be observed between those Members considered in their single and personal Capacity, and as constituting,

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stituting, by their Union, this political Body itself. The former are not our Country, but particular Relations, or Friends, or Neighbours, or the like; to whom on the Score of common Humanity, or as Descendents from the same common Stock, or Inhabitants of the same Part of the World, or perhaps as more nearly allied to us on other Accounts, a suitable Regard should be shewn. But this very Regard is subordinate to that which we owe to the Publick, — to the Society of which we are all Members, — to the Government, and the Constitution, and the general Good of the Whole. And for this the Reason is clear; the one is, in some sort, but a single Interest, the other a common one; And, in the Result, this very single Interest is involved in, and will be best promoted by the Good of the Whole.

If this Arguing be just, then, the natural Principle of Benevolence, when its Exercise is restrained agreeably to the Circumstances of the World, becomes the Love of Country; which therefore must be supported by the same common Arguments, by which we recommend Benevolence, or Humanity itself.

It may, beyond this, be observed, that as there is implanted in Mankind a natural Principle of Benevolence, so is there likewise a strong Appetite of Society. Man is by no means

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means a solitary Animal. His chiefest Enjoyments are social, *i. e.* such as arise from Conversation and Correspondence, and a mutual Intercourse of kind Offices. Merely animal Pleasures are trifling when compared with these; and such, as any one in his Wits would readily part with, in Exchange for them.

As a farther Proof of the Intention of Nature in this Regard, he is furnish'd with certain natural Powers of no Use but in Society. Of this Speech is a remarkable Instance; and others likewise might be assign'd, if needful.

Man therefore was made for Society: But how? To live with others without Rule or Order? A Social State, in such a Sense as this, must be worse than the Solitary: For in the Solitary he is at least secure from Injuries, to which the Social, without Rule or Order, must unavoidably expose him.

The Society therefore, for which the Good of Nature design'd us, must be a Society of Government; by which Laws are enacted and the Observance of them enforc'd, and the common Good of all its Members promoted and secur'd.

In this View of the Matter we see that political Body must be form'd; which, in the

the more early Ages of the World might come out a very rude, and imperfect Work, to be improv'd in future Times, as farther Wisdom and Experience should direct. Such a form'd Society may be call'd our Country; and the Desire of promoting and preserving its Interests, is properly *Patriotism*.

The Force of the present Argument consists in this; that since Nature, or the Supreme Being intended Mankind for a Social State, of which he hath given us the strongest natural Intimations; and since it farther appears, that the Society for which we are design'd, is a Society of Government, under the Direction of wholesome Laws; the Support of such must be agreeable to Divine Pleasure: And therefore each Member is concern'd to maintain its Interests, or, in other Words, to love his Country.

The Arguments hitherto produc'd, tho' drawn from the Constitution of our Nature, and the present State and Condition of the World, will resolve themselves at last into a Religious Principle, and receive their great Strength from this Consideration, that the Principle I would inculcate, is a Point even of *Natural Religion*. But this is not all. It hath likewise a strong Foundation in the Religion which we embrace as Reveal'd; as indeed there is nothing of great Importance in Life,
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but what is either directly requir'd by it, or rationally to be concluded from it.

Perhaps it will be demanded here, What direct Precept have we for *Patriotism* in the sacred Writings? And we, in our Turn, may demand, What direct Precepts are there for many very necessary Things, in the civil Laws of a Country? which being virtually implied in some more general Precepts, may be supposed to need no particular Specification. Indeed particular Cases are almost infinite; and tho', on that account, not easy to be foreseen, may yet, when they happen, appear to be obviously concluded under some general Rule. Should therefore nothing expressly to this Purpose be alledg'd from the sacred Writings, yet it is observeable, that Precepts of Benevolence in the general are frequent; and as this, restrain'd by the Condition of Things, becomes Love of Country, so Precepts of that kind must have the same Effect, as a more distinct Representation of this Point.

Besides, in Scripture almost every particular of those Duties is inculcated, to which the Love of Country leads us. Such we may reckon Self-Denial with regard to ourselves, — the setting others before ourselves, — Decency — Order, — Submission to Government, — Preferring the greater Good before

before the less, and the like. These are Effects which flow from this noble Principle: And where the Effects are requir'd, there the Cause which produces them must be so likewise.

But, the Matter need not be rested on this Foot. Something stronger may be produc'd; especially from the *Jewish* Scriptures, which are admitted, and even confirmed by the Christian.

Indeed the very *Jewish* State itself was form'd by special Appointment of God, and afterwards directed by his peculiar Influence. And as no People were ever found more attach'd to their Country than the *Jews*, so this Principle was most strongly inculcated on them by sacred Direction. The Words of my Text are most full to this Purpose; and many others of a like Import might be produc'd with Ease.

It is true, the Christian Religion is not confin'd, as the *Jewish* was, to a single People; and therefore, we may not perhaps find this Point so explicitly inculcated in the New Testament. Yet it doth by no means follow from hence, that the Principle before us hath no Place in the Christian Scheme of Morals. So far is this from being the real

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State of the Case, that our Religion binds it more firmly on us, than Philosophy itself can do,

Indeed all Branches of Natural Morality are Parts likewise of the Christian. Most of them are distinctly inculcated; And those few, which may not be expressly nam'd, are yet requir'd in the general: To which Purpose I may alledge those Words of St. Paul, *Finally, Brethren, whatsoever Things are true, whatsoever Things are honest, whatsoever Things are just, whatsoever Things are pure, whatsoever Things are lovely, whatsoever Things are of good Report; If there be any Virtue, and if there be any Praise, think on these Things* [Phil. iv. 8.] From these general Words it will appear, that every Natural Virtue must be a Christian Virtue likewise.

But, as I intimated before, it might be expected, from the Universality of the Christian Religion, that this Point of the Love of Country would not be so explicitly inculcated in the New Testament as in the Old; for which there might be this farther Reason likewise, that the *Jews* had carried the Point too far, and consider'd All out of their own Nation with Contempt at least, if not with some Degree of Aversion. What should a new Lawgiver do under such Circumstances?

A Principle too much limited, was necessary to be extended ; on which Foot we find our Saviour requires a general Love of all Men : Not designing hereby to detract from a just Love of our Country, or the giving a Preference to our own National Interest in Comparison of any other, but only to suggest, that as there still remains a Natural Relation to all Men, so, on proper Occasions, Their Interest should be consulted, notwithstanding the superior Regards which we owe to our Country.

Agreeably to this we find, that our Blessed Lord himself (whose Example should be ever copied by us) hath given a remarkable Instance of the Love of Country in his own Person. Witness his bitter Lamentation over the approaching Ruin of his Country, tho' brought on them by their own Perverseness, and their barbarous Offences even against himself. And his great Imitator *St. Paul* (who hath exhorted us to be *Followers of him, as he was likewise of Christ*, 1 Cor. xi. 1.) hath given a like Testimony of Affection to his Country. *I could, saith he, wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my Brethren, my Kinsmen according to the Flesh; who are Israelites.* [Rom. ix. 3, 4.] To this likewise may be added, that the Terms of Salvation, that greatest Blessing bestow'd on the World, were first offer'd to the *Jews*; and that (as *St. Paul*

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Paul hath prophesied, Rom. xi. 25, 26.) the whole Christian Scheme shall be at last compleated by the Restoration of this People, *when the Fulness of the Gentiles shall come in.* To a devout Mind, Intimations of these Kinds will have the same Influence as positive and express Commands.

II. The general Principle of *Patriotism* having been thus far establish'd, I shall now proceed to enquire, Wherein it doth more particularly consist, and in what Ways it may most properly manifest itself.

It hath been already observ'd, that the Love of Country is resolveable into the natural Principle of Benevolence. This extends itself in some sort, to our whole Kind. But such is the present State of the World, that it cannot in Fact be exercis'd towards all Men.

It is true, Every Man is still intitled to our good Offices, when reasonable Opportunities offer of performing them. But, such Opportunities being singular and extraordinary, can therefore find no Place in common Computation on this Subject.

Yet, we must not think, that because the actual Exercise of our Benevolence is hereby limited, we are therefore at Liberty to restrain

strain it within what Bounds we please. The Principle itself is universal: And the Exercise of it must approach, as nearly as may be, to the original Design and Extent of this Principle.

No doubt particular Persons, in proportion to the Nearness of Relation, and the more frequent Opportunities they give us of shewing our Benevolence, are intitled to a Preference in point of personal Favours. And as every great Society consists of many lesser, to one or other of which each single Person bears some particular Relation, so he may be allow'd to give a greater Attention to their Interests, than to those of any other little rival Society. Yet, from the Reasonings before offer'd, it will appear, that the Good of each of these must be consider'd as subordinate to that of the Great Society we belong to; or, to that National Good, which arises from a proper Adjustment of all these more particular Interests.

In short, whilst we are united together under one common Government (whose Business it is to superintend the Good of the Whole, and by the effectual Prosecution of which the real Interests not only of each subordinate Society, but of each single Person is best promoted) we are capable of doing Service to all its Members by consulting the Good

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Good of this Society; and, in that way, of expressing our Good-will to all. Thus far the Exercise of our Benevolence may reach: Thus far therefore it ought to reach: And this in general is *True Patriotism*.

On this Foot, notwithstanding any particular Preference we may give to Relations, Friends, Neighbours, or the like in the Exercise of the common Offices of Kindness; or, notwithstanding our closer Attachment to those lesser Bodies, to which we are immediately join'd, than to others, in which we have no such Concern, yet, if any of these Interests break in upon the Publick, we must give them up entirely; remembering, that altho' the Good of every Part be, in some Sense, the Good of the Whole, yet it becomes such only by being rightly adjusted and proportion'd: For, if any thing, which seems to be advantageous to Some, be really much more hurtful to Others, then the Overballance is just so much Mischief produc'd: And even the separate Good we are pursuing, will, in the End, prove hurtful to that very Interest, which it seems to promote.

But then, a farther Question will arise, when there is a Competition between some very important Good of a Man's own self and the general Good of the Publick; because, if *Patriotism* be resolveable into Benevolence,

volence, it may seem, that we ought not to carry this Principle farther than Benevolence itself will lead us; and since a Man's own most important Interests must, to him, be preferable to those of other Men, some may be tempted to think, that, in this Case, Publick Good must give Way to a Private.

And yet this will appear to be a Principle not only pernicious but execrable: For, on such a Foot, no Society can possibly subsist; whether in War, or Peace. Not in War; because, if each Man is to take such Care of himself, he can be under no Obligation to hazard Life, the very Foundation of every personal Good in this World: And not in Peace; because, whilst every one pursues his own personal Interest preferably to any other, there must be perpetual Struggles in the Society; there can be no Rule or Order observ'd; every Man must immediately commence an Enemy to others in proportion as he values and loves himself.

But, in Truth, we must not admit the Foundation of this Reasoning. For, altho' a Man may not be concerned, in all Cases, to consult the Interest of a single Person beyond his own, yet is he strongly obliged to prefer the Good of Many before his own single Good. Such an Interest is in its own Nature preferable. It must appear to be so

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in the Eyes of every indifferent By-stander. And if the Principle of Benevolence be so strong as Nature intended it should be, it must, where the Objects of it are numerous, overpower the very Regard to Self. Much more, where a whole Country is concerned, ought Men to give up their own private Advantage; in Return for which they will not only enjoy the Good which they communicate, but farther engage the Countenance, and Love, and Support of others.

Thus far then I have carried the Matter, that *Patriotism* directly implies a Preference of the Publick before any other Interest whatsoever. But, How is this to be done? In Speculation only, by a calm, inward, philosophical Approbation? In this Way a Man may be very harmless perhaps, but at the same Time exceeding useless.

Love, if it be really what it pretends to be, is the most active Principle in our Nature. It will carry a Man on to the Object it proposes with a Vehemence not easy to be resisted; and lay hold of every Opportunity of attaining its End, which it always pursues with Vigour.

Such must be our Love of Country when it takes firm Root in our Minds; but with this Advantage, that as the Good pursued

is more excellent than any other, and the Principle which urges us to it, more noble, so we may reasonably expect its Operations will be more lively; and that the real *Patriot*, whilst he studies in what Ways the Publick may be served, will chearfully embrace each which offers, suitable to the Station he is in, and the Abilities he is possessed of.

These Ways indeed are too many to be distinctly mentioned; But they may be reduced to certain Heads; and those which I shall propose, are *Civil, Moral, and Religious.*

The *Civil Ways* may be reckoned not only those, whereby the Union between Members in the Society is preserved, but such likewise as regard the temporal Interests of its particular Members; the Promotion of useful Arts; and making the Principles of Government operate in producing the greatest temporal Good to its Subjects. The former of these are, in the strictest Sense of the Word, *Political*; and consist principally in the Formation of useful Laws, and then Supporting them by a just and vigorous Execution. The Good resulting from hence must be sensibly felt by all who are capable of Feeling; — by all, those only excepted, whose ill Temper makes them disrelish both

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their Country's Happiness and their own. And the latter, as being of common Concern, are in a lower Sense of a *Civil* Nature; for they promote the Good of Citizens, and pursue the Principles of Government into those Effects it was intended to produce.

The *Moral* Way consists in advancing, by all Means in our Power, the moral Good of the Society. True *Patriotism* is not only a Virtue itself, but friendly to every other Virtue, whether it respects our Behaviour towards one another, or to ourselves. For, the Publick is deeply interested in both, because it must be effectually served by both.

On the other hand, a vicious, perverse People, who regard no Rights, and reverence no Authority; who are neither just, nor modest, must be wretched Members of a Society. And Extravagancy, and Dissoluteness not only disable them from contributing their Share towards the publick Service, but by heightning their Passions indispose them to do so, if capable.

Here then the true Lover of his Country hath a noble Field of Action. And he is so much the more concerned to attend this Point, because the Decay of Morals in the present Age is notorious. Vices to which Men were heretofore tempted only by Affluence, are

now derived down to the lower Part of the People; so that those, in whose Virtue and Diligence heretofore consisted the main Strength of the Whole, are now becoming more and more a Burthen. The Consequence of this is dreadful; and therefore the Concern to prevent it must be obvious.

But if the Principle insisted on directs us to promote the Cause of Virtue in others, it must in a higher Degree oblige us to a virtuous Conduct ourselves; not only because our Endeavours to make others virtuous will be ineffectual without it, but likewise, because our Want of it must destroy our own Pretensions to *Patriotism*. For, how can a Man be really possessed of this Principle, who is in Fact influenced by no right Principle whatsoever?

The *Religious* Way of expressing our Love of Country implies an Endeavour to cultivate both in ourselves and others a Sense of the Supreme Being, and to make such Sentiments appear to the World by outward Acts of Worship. A Point this of the greater Consequence, because it gives Force and Strength to Virtue. The Reason and Fitness of Things is a good Rule; but at the same Time a Rule, which under the present Circumstances of our Nature, cannot always support itself. To do this effectually we must take

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take in an Higher Power. A Lawgiver only can make a Law: And, in this Case, he only who makes, can execute it. To disregard Religion therefore, by which every Kind of Virtue, and *Patriotism* especially is supported, must be unaccountable. And he who pretends to this Principle without Religion, will in Time be found to hurt the Publick more by his Profaneness, than he can possibly serve it in any other Way.

Before I close this Head one Thing farther should be observed; namely, All Men are not concerned to manifest their *Patriotism* in the same Way and Manner. What they attempt must be agreeable to their Station, and proportioned to their several respective Abilities.

As every Political Society consists of Governors and Governed, it is plain they cannot perform the same Parts exactly. And altho' some Duties in regard to the Publick are common to both, yet others are as different as the Situations of these respective Persons.

Love of Country in Governors must lead them to use the Power intrusted with them for its proper Purposes; whether for maintaining the national Interests abroad, or promoting them at home; whether by giving right

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right Direction to the several active Powers of the subordinate Members, or by obliging them to obey the Directions which are given; whether by supporting and encouraging the Peaceable, or by repressing the Insolences and Outrages of the Violent. These are Instances peculiar to Their Station, and by no means to be attempted by those who are concerned not to Command but to Obey.

With regard to the Governed (those I mean to whom no Part in the Administration of Government is committed), it is their Duty chearfully to observe the Directions of their Superiors: Not impertinently to intermeddle in Things out of their Way, much less saucily to Prescribe; but keeping within proper Bounds, to promote the Interests of the Publick, by cultivating every useful Art they can, — by discharging all their several Duties to each other, — by softening the Passions of those they converse with, — and by uniting them, as far as possible, in the Prosecution of common Good. To do this must, I say, be the Duty of every inferior Subject: And the natural Fruits of doing so will reward it.

III. Having thus far endeavoured to Establish, and to Explain the Principle of *True Patriotism*, I shall offer such Reflections on the

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the foregoing Heads, as do naturally arise from them, and are best suited to the present Solemnity.

And the First I would mention, is This: That *True Patriotism*, as before explained, carries with it an entire Regard to our Supreme Governor, and a candid Interpretation of the publick Measures.

Our Country, as before represented, signifies the Great Society we belong to; in which the several Members are united together by common Laws under One common Head. It is plain from hence, that one great, and indeed the principal Interest of this Society must consist in preserving this Union; and of Course, in consulting the Good as well of the Governing Part, as of the Governed. The real Interests of Both are inseparable; or rather, they are upon the Whole the same. And consequently, those who endeavour to divide them, are most dangerous Enemies to Both.

: Their particular Rights may differ in some Degree, but they are never opposite; and are so interwoven in the Constitution itself, as to imply not only mutual Consistency, but Support.

Thus

Thus, the quiet and secure Enjoyment of their own, is indeed the just Claim of Subjects: And the Power of securing these Enjoyments to them, is the Claim of the Prince; but which the Subject himself must be as much interested to maintain, as he is to make his own Possessions secure to him. So again, on the other hand, if the Power of Giving Protection to his Subjects, be (as I have said) a Right of the Prince, such a Right must be vain unless exercised in giving them Protection: And this being the proper Exercise of this Right, it must in the due Course of Things support it: For, it is remarkable as well with regard to Political Powers, as Natural, that as they are always perfected by proper Exercise, so are they in a manner lost by the Want of it. Thus much may be concluded from the Nature of Civil Society, and the Relation from thence arising between Governors and Subjects.

But, whilst I have been inculcating an entire Regard to our Supreme Governor on the Foot of the preceding Consideration, an additional Argument to the same Purpose must have arisen to the Minds of those who hear me, from the personal Character of HIS MAJESTY; who, on that Score ought to be dear to his People, to whom the real Interest of his People is most precious. It

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would be too low a Thing to say barely, There have been no Invasions of Law from His Majesty's Government; — no Stretches of Prerogative; — no Oppressions under Colour of Law. Such Negative Articles of Conduct might have been esteemed advantageous to the Characters of some other Princes. But here we see united the Great Qualities, which should engage both our Reverence and our Love: An unwearied Application to all the Arts of Government; — A Sagacity to chuse what is fittest; — A Resolution to pursue it; — An inflexible Love of Justice, yet tempered with the highest Degrees of Mercy: To all which we must add, A Faithfulness irreproachable, — I wish I could not say, almost singular. Surely under the Direction of such a Supreme Governor We might be happy: Whence therefore is it that we are otherwise?

The Truth is, a Spirit of Party hath prevailed; which attending to its own little Interests, breaks in upon the great Duties owing to the Publick. In Consequence of this almost every Person employed in the Administration of publick Affairs hath been condemned, and almost every Measure taken by them questioned.

It is a very easy Matter to find Fault, when Men are out of Humour, and inclined to do
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so. And perhaps in some Cases it may be impossible even for an Innocent and Wise Man to clear Matters up, — at least to the Satisfaction of those, who are unwilling to receive it; — especially in the Administration of Government, which is a very complicated Thing, consisting of many Parts, not proper to be divulged to all. And yet, without a distinct View of these, Men may be incapable of forming a right Judgment, or of correcting a false one. This Consideration suggests to us at once both Caution, and Candour.

Indeed Private Persons seem to have little Right to canvass such Matters at all. This properly belongs to another Kind of Tribunal; — to that of the Great Council of the Nation; who by the Integrity of their Intentions are best qualified to enter on such an Enquiry, — by the Gravity of their Deliberations to pursue it, — and by the Wisdom of their Resolves to determine upon it. Private Men should presume Things are managed well, especially when they are not alarmed by Publick, and Parliamentary Enquiry. To this they should be led by the Reason of the Thing, and their own Sense of it, if not more powerfully influenced by the Duty which they owe the Publick; whose Interest is as really promoted by the Modesty of Inferior

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rior Persons, as by the expected Integrity and Abilities of Greater.

I would mention a Second Reflection, namely, That *True Patriotism* is necessary in order to improve the Blessings of that Peace, for which we are now met to offer up our Thanks to God.

This Principle, some Persons may be apt to think, chiefly discovers itself under Circumstances of publick Difficulty: For, these afford the great Tryals of Bravery and Resolution, which can be supported only by a zealous Attachment to that Cause, for which they are exerted. Yet perhaps on farther Enquiry it may appear, that the same Principle is not less necessary in calm and quiet Times; in which there is this farther Reason for recommending it, that it is apt to be abated by those very Circumstances, which need its Influence.

In the former Case, namely Times of Difficulty, every one is alarmed and watchful, as well for the Preservation of Others as of Himself; for common Danger naturally unites Men in common Defence. But it happens otherwise when, Danger being remote, they are more at Leisure to indulge their Passions, — and when, the Connexion between their own Interest and that of Others being less apparent,

apparent, they are too apt to forget what is due to Others from the irregular Love of Self.

Yet let it be considered, that even in these Times of Quiet, and Cessation of foreign Hostilities, Men are really as dependent on each other as in Circumstances of immediate Danger; and that the Great Principle, by which they are led to prosecute a publick Interest, is as fully necessary in Peace as War.

In Truth it is necessary to preserve this very Peace itself, perhaps even with Nations abroad; at least within itself: For, the mutual Clashings of private and separate Interests (from whence arise perpetual Quarrels), can only be prevented by that generous, and more enlarged View of Things, which *Patriotism* gives us.

If regular Society was first formed for the more effectual Defence against foreign Foes, and for protecting its own Members from mutual Injuries and Oppressions (as perhaps it was) yet a farther Advantage to be promoted by it must quickly arise to Mens Minds; I mean, the Uniting them in common Measures for common Benefit, and the Restraining them as to their natural Liberty of acting, when the Pursuit of such a Liberty must prove more hurtful to others, than

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than advantageous to themselves. *Patriotism*, or the Love of Country, pursuing this, improves upon the first Ground and Foundation of Society; and prosecutes its Purposes in such a Manner, as to procure it at once Strength, Ornament, and Prosperity.

It carries these Advantages still farther by the Encouragement of useful Arts, and directing the natural Abilities of Men to the general Service. Times of Peace are the proper Seasons of doing this. Leisure, Quiet, and a Freedom from Embarrassments, give Room for the Display of Mens natural Talents; for Invention, and Improvement; and the carrying on great Designs to Perfection. In the Cultivation of these as every true Lover of his Country is concern'd, the Principle on which he acts is of the highest and most important Consequence. For, it renders Peace, in many other respects a Blessing, in this a still greater, that it affords Room as well for enlarging Mens Capacities by Exercise, as for heightening all their natural Advantages by Art.

But after all, there is still a higher Interest behind, which every *true Patriot* will promote, I mean that of Virtue and Religion; without which no great Matters can be carried on in this World, and no Expectations founded in another.

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The Connexion between these and the present Interests of Life, is so apparent, that some Men have told us, they were the Inventions of State, design'd to keep Subjects within Bounds, and so enable their Directors to perform their Parts with Success. This acknowledges the Utility of these Principles: And Utility, in this Case, is no unreasonable Argument of their Truth.

But, beside the Usefulness of these Principles for the Support of Government, we may observe farther, that without them no considerable Improvements are likely to be made in Life. And of this we shall have sufficient Evidence, if we consider the State of those Nations, who are little acquainted with Religion, and have carried Morality no farther than to some few more general Principles.

Have these ever been found to be ingenious, and elegant in other respects; or to have improv'd themselves in any of the nicer Arts? Far otherwise. And for this a sufficient Reason may be given: For, the same Capacity and Application of Thought, which might enable them to make a Progress in the One, must enable and dispose them likewise to do the same in the Other. Besides, a farther Reason may be given, namely, That the Practice of those Duties which Morality and Religion

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Religion prescribe, by procuring Quiet, and ensuring the Benefit of their own Inventions, must of Course encourage them; without which, whatever their natural Capacities may be, they are like to continue in the same State of Barbarism as well with regard to Arts as to Religion. — God grant, that by the growing Disregard to this great Cause, we may not return back to that State of Darkness, out of which Religion at first brought us.

Give me Leave to make one Reflection more, and to have done. *True Patriotism* will lead us, lastly, to that which is the more direct Intention of this Solemnity, namely, to make grateful Acknowledgments to the Supreme Being for delivering us from the Miseries of War, and restoring to us the Blessings of Peace.

As the Aim of this Principle is entirely directed towards the publick Good, it must give us a sincere Pleasure in the Success of it; and of Consequence engage us to that Being, by whose gracious Influence, so great an Interest is secur'd. And that the Deliverance we are now to celebrate is of the utmost Importance, must appear from the first and most obvious Reflection.

War,

War, in every View of it, is a terrible Calamity. If enter'd on unjustly, it is a Crime; yet such a one as never fails to punish itself. If just, it is still a most heavy Misfortune; because it interrupts our Enjoyments, --- breaks in upon our Commerce, --- exhausts our Wealth, --- and deprives us of many a valuable Life.

Indeed, in looking back upon the past War, we have this Comfort, that the Cause of it was just and necessary; the Vindication of national Rights; the Assistance of important Allies; and even Self-Defence against Arms first lifted up against us. We are free therefore from the mortifying Recollection of having made Enemies by injuring and provoking them, and having render'd ourselves accountable to the Supreme Being for the Death of every such Enemy we have destroy'd. I wish we could as well clear ourselves from those other Kinds of Guilt, by which God hath been offended, and induc'd to bring this sad Calamity upon us: For, such it hath been, notwithstanding the now mention'd Abatement.

Even a successful War is an Evil. The victorious Side seldom gains by it upon the whole. The greatest Acquisition is the Honour of Victory. And yet this is much qualified by considering the Miseries of the van-

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quished,

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quished, which a generous Conqueror cannot behold without Compassion.

The Case is still much worse, when War is carried on upon disadvantageous Terms, and like to end unfortunately; when the Valour of Troops, headed even by the most consummate General, cannot make up for the Defect of Numbers; when the Expectation of Assistance from Allies is remote; the Enemy still pressing on; and the very Strength and Sinews of War almost failing. If just at such a critical Time God shall put it into the Heart of an Enemy to make Peace, who is there, to whom This must not appear a great and most desirable Blessing?

There are still farther Circumstances in our Case, to which it concerns us to give Attention. During the Height of this War a Rebellion was rais'd in one Part of His Majesty's Dominions; carried on for a considerable while to the Terror of good Subjects; and tho' suppress'd at last, yet it seems the Spirit, which first began this Rebellion, is not quite extinguish'd. Else, What means the Humour of finding Fault with the Peace itself? --- What, the Virulence sometimes express'd --- I care not to say How, or against Whom? --- What, that Affectation in bearing about the known Marks of Disaffection? --- In short, What, the Insolence and outrageous Violence observable

observeable in several Parts of this Kingdom? Had an unsuccessful War continu'd, what might have been the Consequence God only knows. But, to his Mercy is it owing, that Peace abroad being restor'd, the Government is now better able to look after Things at home. Our brave Forces, if Occasion should require, will support it. This ought to teach Men more Caution, as it may be hop'd in some Time it will: For, if a Sense of Duty cannot prevail, yet Self-Security may, and must do so.

I am sorry there should be any Occasion to mention these Particulars, on such a Day as this especially, when one would not chuse to say any thing which may carry with it an Appearance of Harshness. But this could not be well avoided: For, without taking these Things into the Account, our View of the Blessing now commemorated must be imperfect.

Upon the Whole, How are we to behave under these Circumstances? As to the Solemnity of publick Thanksgiving, this we are now performing, I hope, with a Devotion suitable to the Greatness of the Occasion. But then, let not our Thankfulness determine with this Day. As the Effects of this Day's Blessing may be permanent (and we hope they will) let our Gratitude continue likewise; if not express'd

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express'd in the particular manner, which the present Solemnity requires, yet in such as God will more especially accept, a virtuous and religious Course of Life. This he demands from us; to this he inwardly prompts us; and in our Endeavour to discharge this Duty he will assist us.

I shall close all with those sacred Words us'd by *Solomon* in the Dedication of the Temple; [*1 Kings viii. 56, 57, 58.*] *Blessed be the Lord, that hath given Rest unto his People. — The Lord our God be with us as he was with our Fathers: Let him not leave us nor forsake us. That he may incline our Hearts unto him, to walk in all his Ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Statutes, and his Judgments, which he commanded our Fathers.*



The E N D.